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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activities, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the coexistence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married

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kinsmen who love him and unrelated adults who simply ignore him. He is clear about the difference between 'our sheep' around which he skips and smiles, and 'strange sheep' at the sight of which he screws his face into a comical grimace of resentment. About this age, when his spirit of adventure takes him beyond the protection of his own huts, he is almost certain to meet with some unpleasant treatment at the hands of older unrelated children. In these ways the child quickly comes to associate membership in his own family and kindred as synonymous with love and acceptance, and non-membership with hostility. Later experience in adolescence and adult life gives him no cause to change these early established attitudes.

During these first four years the child suffers only the minimum of discipline, almost exclusively at the hands of the mother and sometimes the grandmother. Weaning is a gradual process and most children take some milk until they are two years old, and occasionally for a year longer. Training in cleanliness is a simple matter. They are not punished for fouling the hut until they are walking strongly; generally, by the age of two a number of sudden evictions from the hut when they have misbehaved, and the ridicule of their siblings and cousins, have persuaded most children to walk outside. In other matters the child does very much as he likes. He is continually assured by his adult kinsmen that he is admirable and remarkable and his father, in particular, is consistently loving and indulgent. But from about the age of two or two and a half years a mother in her attempts to reduce her child to a minimum of discipline begins to refer to the father as an authority figure. 'Your father will beat you,' she sometimes says in desperation when her own authority fails. The child of three or four years knows quite well that this is most unlikely to happen, but by the time he is four years old he recognizes that the father is the leader of the family and a person in authority. He observes his mother's deference and the disciplinary action which a father sometimes exerts on his elder siblings.

The general picture of the first four years of a child's life is one of extreme permissiveness on the part of both parents. The mother is a source of physical care, comfort, and love, but

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is shown to a father in private, but that public disrespect is carefully avoided. Friction between father and son is lessened by the definition in customary usage, within narrow limits, of the age at which a son may expect to marry and hold executive authority. In the case of an unmarried daughter, on the other hand, the authority of a father is always more complete since a daughter by reason both of sex and generation is subordinate even to a father of advanced years.

We have already remarked how a father imposes scarcely any discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is difficult to describe the confusion and noise created by young children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

After the age of four, whatever his fears as to his treatment in later life, a father's love for his child inevitably becomes increasingly conditional upon the child's behaviour; for it is the duty of the father to guide, by his approval and disapproval, the child's first attempts to represent his family in the outside world. And it may be suggested that the love of a four-year-old Sarakatsan child for his father, which makes an immediate impression on the observer, on the one hand is related to the period of extreme permissiveness in the child's early years, and on the other is a lever by which early steps in its moral education are in part accomplished. According to its age and sex, a child must assimilate certain lessons of conventional politeness, show a constant loyalty to his family, and display a proud and combative front before unrelated children of his own sex and age. Already at this early age the importance of pride and prestige weighs upon the small boy or girl. Yet these values of personal and family prestige, which it is the duty of the father to foster and approve in his son or daughter, foreshadow his own abdication from power at some future time.

From the moment that a son is subjected to the direct authority of his father after he leaves school, a strong element of

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identification of their interests and affections are the members of the family that they cannot tolerate a permanent minority opinion. To dissent is a kind of treason. In a qualified sense, it may be said that authority over the affairs of the corporate family, in the later years of its existence, is corporately exercised. In practice, there are naturally many matters in which the head of the family through his experience in bargaining and negotiation has more expert judgement; and here the family will be guided by his recommendations. But, similarly, he in turn will take the advice of his sons or brothers when difficulties arise over the grazing and condition of the animals.

No outside person or group has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of a family. The family has an unfettered jurisdiction over its own concerns. Public opinion exerts an immense moral pressure on a family, if the conduct of its members falls appreciably short of the ideals of family life; but it has no means of legitimately and forcibly restraining an unrepentant father or brother. One day, together with a Sarakatsan friend, I was passing the home of a man from whose courtyard we heard a confusion of shouts and cries. Looking carefully over the high wall, we saw the father lashing his thirteen-year-old daughter with a leather belt; it seemed that the girl's only fault was that she was too frail to lift and secure some heavy sacks on to a waiting mule. My friend's fury was evident. Sarakatsani cannot tolerate any form of cruelty to children. Yet he insisted that he could not interfere with the father's action even if he were on the point of killing her. But, lifting a heavy stone, he tossed it over the wall. The man, realizing that somebody had been watching him, at once ceased his blows on the child.

Within this autonomous family group there is a certain equivalence of rights and obligations between the members. It must be said, however, that this abstraction and separation of rights and obligations only emerges somewhat artificially in our analysis. Because of their very diffuseness it would not normally occur to an individual to balance his rights and privileges against those of another member of the family. There is no conscious accountancy in this solidarity. In general terms everybody has the right to expect material, moral and affective support from the family, as well as assistance in the event of physical assault. We have already stressed that a person will never admit

/146 cont./

The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representatives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years, that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers, enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this social education comes about easily and without special effort on their part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of fights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
594 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
554 management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[876] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[56] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.